1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

Evidently royal persons could then be easily distinguished from the commoners.

The question naturally arises how far may a similar distinction be observed at the present time. The genealogical tables presented may answer the question. It may be seen that intermarriage of commoners and royalty has proceeded to such a degree that the differences have been greatly dimmed, if not quite erased. Furthermore, the loss of the political power which the royal families formerly held has levelled down distinctions until they have largely lost their meaning. This loss again has hastened the process of intermarriage with commoners. While there are some distinctive practices which persist, they may now pertain to or be practised by certain members of a family only, or in some instances, and not in others. These refer especially to inheritance and to the naming of children.

By 'social structure' is meant the more or less permanent framework of relationships between members of a community which manifests itself in an ordered group-life, with reciprocal rights and duties, privileges and obligations, of members, determining behaviour-patterns . . . and moulding the feelings, thoughts, and conduct of members according to these patterns, so that it is only in and through them that the individual can achieve his personal self-realization and participate in the satisfactions offered by the life of his community.

This framework of social organization, or social structure, is permanent compared with the stream of human lives that, in the succession of the generations, flows through it. Each new generation finds it there, as an inheritance from untold generations of his predecessors. Yet the framework of social structure is not absolutely rigid or fixed for all time, but is itself a thing of growth, capable of variation in detail, sometimes giving birth to new developments, at other times undergoing disintegration and decay.[1]

The genealogical tables which I have collected are fairly representative of the major divisions or 'tribes' of the Ovimbundu. The only 'tribes' not represented are those of the border regions of Namba, Sanga, Cikomba, and Kalukembe, none of which save the last are numerically important. These border groups themselves offer an interesting field of study and particularly in that they may provide cultural and linguistic bridges between the Ovimbundu and their neighbors.

[1] A. W. Hoernlé in Schapera, *The Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa* (London: Routledge, 1937), p. 67 f.

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

TABLES OF UMBUNDU TERMS OF BLOOD RELATIONSHIP

A. *Ego's Own Generation: Man or Woman the Speaker*

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Term	*Relation*	*Reciprocal term*
1. *Huvange*[1]	my elder brother my elder sister mother's sister's child (if older than Ego) father's brother's child (if older than Ego) mother's mother's sister's grandchild (if older than Ego) mother's father's brother's grandchild (if older than Ego) father's father's brother's grandchild (if older than Ego) father's mother's sister's grandchild (if older than Ego)	*manjange*
2. *Kota*[2]	eldest brother (of household or of family)	*manjange*
3. *Manjange*	my younger brother my younger sister all relatives listed under '1.' (if *younger* than Ego)	*huvange* or *kota*
4. *Epalume*[3], *Upalume*[3], *Cepua*[3]	mother's brother's child father's sister's child mother's mother's brother's grandchild mother's father's sister's grandchild father's father's sister's grandchild father's mother's brother's grandchild	*epalume*, *upalume*, or *cepua*

B. *Man the Speaker*

1. *Mukãi*[3]	sister all female relatives listed under 'A. 1, 2, and 3'	*mume*

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[1] *Huvange*, my elder brother; *huvetu*, our elder brother.
Huvove, thy elder brother; *huvene*, your elder brother.
Huvaye, his elder brother; *huvavo*, their elder brother.
In Viye *huva* is not now used commonly and *manja* is used without discrimination for both elder and younger brothers. This may be due to European influences. At any rate the Bantu usage has reasserted itself by appropriating *kota* (q.v. *infra*) in place of *huva*, and by using the political term *epalanga* for the true sense of *manja*.

[2] *Kota* and *epalume* belong to the sixth class of nouns, *epalume liange*, *kota liange*, &c.

[3] *Upalume*, *mukãi*, and *mume* belong to the first class, *upalume wange*, *mukãi wove*, *mume wayo*, &c. Use of the three terms for cross-cousins seems to be indiscriminate.

[4] *Cepua* belongs to the fourth class, *cepua cetu*, &c.

1: Childs - M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

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C. *Woman the Speaker*

Term	*Relation*	*Reciprocal term*
1. *Mume*[1]	brother	*mukãi*
	all male relatives listed under 'A. 1, 2, and 3'	
2. *Mbuale*[2]	sister	*mbuale*
	all female relatives listed under 'A. 1, 2, and 3'	

D. *First Ascendant Generation: Either Man or Woman the Speaker*

1. *Maĩ*[3]	my (uterine) mother	*omolange*
	(my father's other wives)	
	mother's sister	
	mother's mother's sister's daughter	
	mother's father's brother's daughter	
	father's father's brother's daughter	
	father's mother's sister's daughter	
2. *Tate*[4]	my father	*omolange*
	(any subsequent husbands of my mother)	
	father's brother	
	father's father's brother's son	
	father's mother's sister's son	
	mother's mother's sister's son	
	mother's father's brother's son	
3. *Manu*[5]	mother's brother	*ocimumba cange*
	mother's mother's brother's son	
	mother's father's sister's son	
	father's father's sister's son	
	father's mother's brother's son	
4. *Tatekãi*[6]	father's sister	*ocimumba cange*
	father's mother's brother's daughter	
	father's father's sister's daughter	
	mother's father's sister's daughter	
	mother's mother's brother's daughter	

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[1] See note 3, p. 47.

[2] *Mbuale* belongs to the fifth class, *mbuale yange*, &c.

[3] *Maĩ*, my mother; *inetu*, our mother.
Nyohõ, thy mother; *inene*, your mother.
Inaye, his mother; *inavo*, their mother.

[4] *Tate*, my father; *isietu*, our father.
So, thy father; *isiene*, your father.
Isiaye, his father; *isiavo*, their father.

[5] *Manu*, my mother's brother; *manu yetu*, our mother's brother.
Nyohõnu, thy mother's brother; *nyohõnu yene*, your mother's brother.
Inanu, his mother's brother; *inanu yavo*, their mother's brother.

[6] *Tatekãi*, my father's sister.
Sohãi, thy father's sister.
Apahaĩ, his father's sister.
Plural forms as for *Manu*, &c.

Hambly had only this form for the third person and dropped out a vowel with a resulting form impossible for Umbundu of *Aphai*. *Vide* op. cit., pp. 190, 196, 198, 199.

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

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E. *Second Ascendant Generation: Either Man or Woman the Speaker*

Term	*Relation*	*Reciprocal term*
1. *Maikulu*[1] (*Nyokulu*)	grandmother, both maternal and paternal grandmother's sister grandfather's sister	*onekulu yange*
2. *Sekulu*[1] (*Tatekulu*)	grandfather, both maternal and paternal grandfather's brother grandmother's brother	*onekulu yange*

F. *Third Ascendant Generation*

Kuku	all relatives of this generation	*onekululla* or *omokolole yange*

G. *Fourth Ascendant Generation*

Kukululu	all relatives of this generation	*onene yange*

H. *Fifth Ascendant Generation*

Kukululua	all relatives of this generation	*onei yange*

I. *Sixth Ascendant Generation*

Ku	all relatives of this generation	*oneha yange*

J. *First Descendant Generation*

1. *Omõlãnge*	my own child woman's sister's child man's brother's child mother's sister's grandchild father's brother's grandchild	*tate* or *mãi*
mũlulũ or *mweli*	first-born child	
2. *Ocimumba*	woman's brother's child man's sister's child mother's brother's grandchild father's sister's grandchild	*tatehli* or *mamu*

The kinship terms for further descendant generations will be found in the column of 'reciprocal terms' given above. It does not seem necessary to repeat them.

602 592 The patterns of behaviour between these many blood relatives find their prototypes in the patterns of the household. Love for

[1] *Maikulu* and *Sekulu* are sometimes used interchangeably for persons of either sex. Each has only the two personal forms. The forms in parenthesis are but little used. *Inakulu* is used for the queen.

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

582 Cross-cousin marriage of the type practised by the Sotho[1] or Venda[2] tribes is quite foreign to Umbundu life. It is possible that the Ovimbundu formerly had some such type of cross-cousin marriage, but not for a very long time. Among the seventy-five schedules which I have collected illustrating marriage arrangements there are a few describing marriages which took place about ninety years ago. Magyar also wrote of the financial arrangements made for marriage in Viye about 1850.[3] Both of these sources, together with native tradition, indicate that, at least with regard to the financial arrangements, the cross-cousin type of marriage has not been practised by the Ovimbundu for more than one hundred
582 years. On the other hand, the Ovimbundu know nothing of the
171 exogamous marriage demanded by the Herero,[4] the Zulu,[5] &c. The Umbundu ideal includes marriage with a cross-cousin, but also goes out into the wider kinship group, as does the type of marriage of the Thonga,[6] which in turn is linked with that of the Ndau and the Shona group.[7]

582 The Umbundu principle that only 'those whose blood has
174 touched', or who can 'count' relatives in common, has for a very long time admitted of liberal application. There are cases on record of individuals belonging to regions as widely separated as Ciyaka and Ngalangi contracting marriage *after* having properly 'counted' their common relationship. These cases refer to grandparents of the present generation. It is probable that the diverse racial and cultural elements which have fused to form the Ovimbundu people long ago made imperative the broadening of the cross-cousin type of marriage to the 'ideal' or 'classic' form of (present) Umbundu tradition. An analogous process (with modifications) has continued to operate until to-day this very ideal of marriage within the kinship group is losing its hold in favour of yet more 'liberal' practices.

• 601 In summary, the Umbundu terminology for the relative by marriage and also the connexion between the ideas of relation by marriage and relation by blood may be seen by the following:

[1] W. M. Eiselen, 'Preferential Marriage: Correlation of the various modes among the Bantu of South Africa', *Africa*, 1928, pp. 413–28.
[2] H. A. Stayt, *The Bavenda* (London, 1931), chaps. xi and xv.
[3] Magyar, op. cit., p. 282 f.
[4] Vedder in Hahn *et al.*, op. cit., p. 187; Irle, op. cit., p. 89.
[5] Krige, op. cit., pp. 34–5. [6] Junod, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 253–64.
[7] Hoernlé in Shapera, op. cit., p. 93 f.

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

II. Table of Umbundu Terms of Relationship by Marriage 601

A. *Ego's Own Generation: Man Speaking*

Term	*Relationship*	*Reciprocal term*
1. *Ukãi wange*	my wife	*veyange*[1]
2. *Nãwã*	sister-in-law every 'sister' and 'brother' of wife every *epalume* (cross-cousin) of wife in short: every relative of wife of her own generation (see Table I. A, B, p. 47 f.)	*nãwã*[2]

B. *First Ascendant Generation: Either Man or Woman the Speaker*

1. *Ndatembo*	patent-in-law every relative of spouse of this generation (see list in Table I. D, p. 48 f.)	*ndatembo*[2]
2. *Mai*	applied by courtesy to everyone whom spouse so classifies	*omolange*
3. *Tate*	applied by courtesy to everyone whom spouse so classifies	*omolange*
4. *Manu*	applied by courtesy to everyone whom spouse so classifies	*ocimumba*[3]
5. *Tatehãi*	applied by courtesy to everyone whom spouse so classifies	*ocimumba*

C. *Second, Third, and Further Ascendant Generations*

Each spouse applies and receives the terms respectively applied and received by the other, with corresponding sexual differentiations.

D. *Descendant Generations*

Each spouse applies and receives the terms respectively applied and received by the other, with corresponding sexual differentiations.

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[1] *Veyange*, my husband, *veyove*, thy husband, &c.

[2] Affinal terms are applied from the time of the formal betrothal. In marriage of the preferential kinship-type affinal terms replace the consanguineal. After marriage, or, more generally, after the ceremonies for doing away with avoidances, then the courtesy terms are applied.

[3] Hambly in his summary table—op. cit., p. 199—gives the meaning given here as the only meaning for *ocimumba*, but this is only a secondary meaning (see p. 47 f.). He also errs in his use of the following: *Mbuale* (used only by females), *Kulu* (not a relationship term), *Kukululu* (means great-great-grandparent), *Aphai* (should be *Apãhãi* with the two other forms, see p. 48), *Cikulume* (should be *cikulume*).

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

601 III. TABLES OF RELATIVES WITH WHOM MARRIAGE IS PREFERRED

A. *Of Ego's Generation: Either Man or Woman*

Term	*Relationship*	*Reciprocal term*
Epahenu or *cipua*	cross-cousins of all degrees (see list Table I. A. 4, p. 47)	*epahenu* or *cipua*

B. *Of First Ascendant Generation: Man Speaking*

Tatekili	father's 'sister' (see list Table I. D. 4, p. 48)	*ocinumbu*

C. *Of First Ascendant Generation: Woman Speaking*

Manu	mother's 'brothers' (see list Table I. D. 3, p. 48)	*ocinumbu*

D. *Of First Descendant Generation: Man or Woman Speaking*

Ocinumbu	mother's 'brother's' or father's 'sister's grandchild'	*manu* or *tatekili*

591 582 Many writers have noted that, among other purposes, the financial arrangements serve to give the bride a status in the village of her husband. In a system of preferential kinship marriage, this is a desideratum, although for other reasons than those operating in a system where the wife comes as a comparative stranger. In a system such as this of the Ovimbundu, it is evident that many of the relatives by marriage are already blood relatives. This is perhaps one reason why the avoidances with regard to 'in-laws' are less rigidly held to than in a society such as the Zulu, which holds strictly to exogamous marriage.[1]

182 601 Another factor which makes for stability of marriage is the bilineal kinship system (*epata*). This system offers to the wife an initial security not usually found where descent is unilineal, or even where there has been a one-sided development of one line of descent at the expense of the other. The bilineal system is an important factor in the preservation of social stability. Through it the household and the village are links in the chain which even yet binds the Ovimbundu into a social whole.

Sorcery

182 754 Umbundu society is subject to various forces which threaten its cohesion and stability both from without and from within. Some of the external forces have been touched upon.[2] Chief of the

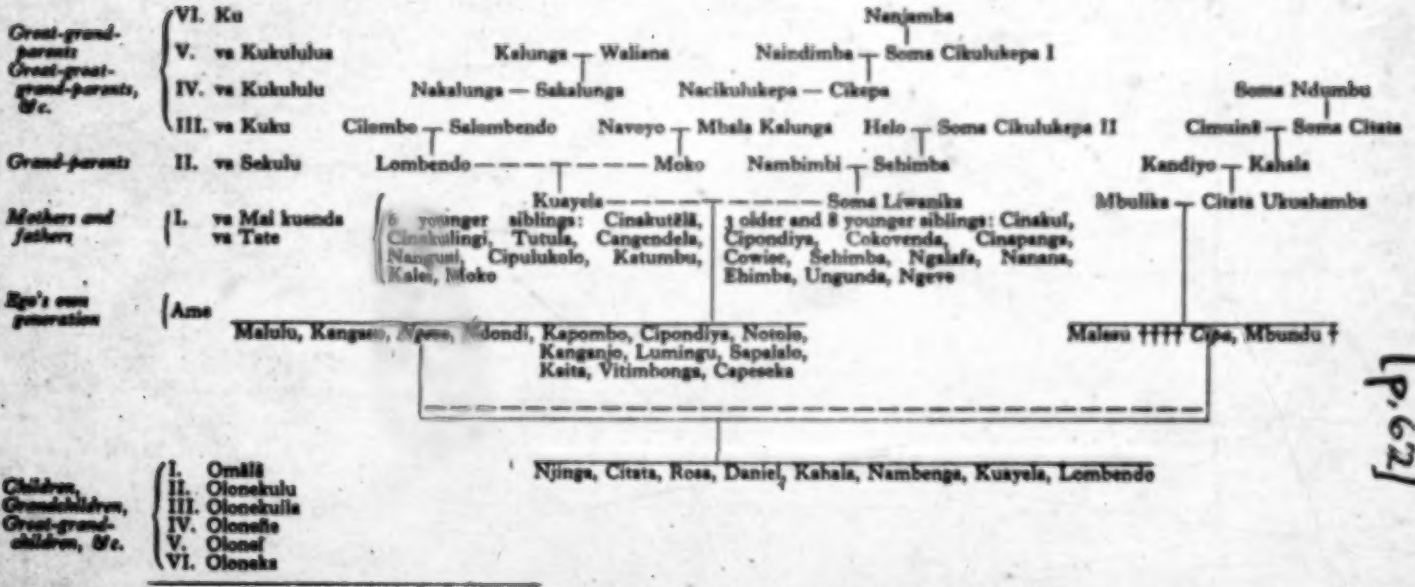
[1] Krige, op. cit., p. 29 f. [2] *Supra*, pp. v, 26.

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

• 601

GENEALOGICAL TABLE

showing the ascendants and descendants of Madaleno Cipa Ukuahamba and his wife Felicia Ngeve



[P. 627]

Names joined by the dash are spouses: to the left, the wife; to the right, the husband.
Soma Cikulukepa I and II, and Soma Liwanika ruled the Kingdom of Elende.
Soma Ndumbu and Soma Citata ruled the Kingdom of Cikuma, the *ombala* of which is named Ndumbu.
† indicates a sibling deceased, older or younger according to position.

L11 of groups, but a man belongs to two groups within each system. Similar membership is required for a woman. A man shares with all his children his membership of the male side of his mother's matrilineal group, and shares with his own membership of the male side of his father's patrilineal group. His daughters belong to his father's patrilineal group but to its female side. He does not transmit to his children membership of his father's matrilineal group or his mother's patrilineal group.(1) This is illustrated by the diagram on page 21.

L01 Kinship terminology

Patterns of behaviour between all blood relatives find their prototypes in the household. The following list of kinship terms is selected from the more detailed list given by Childs.(2)

Term		Reciprocal
mai	mother, mother's sister, etc.	*ceolonge*
tate	father, father's brother, etc.	*ceolonge*
tatekai	("female father") father's sister	*ocimumbo congo*
mamu	mother's brother	*ocimumbo congo*
hasonge	older brother or sister, and male or female parallel cousin, if older than ego	*sanjonge*
kota	eldest brother (of family or household)	*sanjonge*
(epolume	male or female cross-cousin	*epolume*, *apolume*, or *capua*
(apolume		
(capua		
mâsi	sister or female parallel cousin (M.S.)(3)	*mame*
ebuale	" " " " (W.S.)	*ebuale*
ocikulu	grandmother, grandparents' sister	*ocekulu yange*
sekulu	grandfather, grandparents' brother	*ocekulu yange*

Note: (a) There is no word used exclusively for "brother" by a man, although a woman may use *mame* in this sense. *Hasonge* and *sanjonge* are used by either men or women for elder or younger brothers or sisters.

(b) *ocikulu* and *sekulu* are sometimes used interchangeably for persons of either sex.

MARRIAGE

582 Marriage within the kin group

The most desirable marriage is marriage within the circle of kin, i.e. (as noted above) into the male line of the clains or the female line of the clans. (There appears to be a preference for marriage within the clains.(4)) One may not marry one classed as brother, sister, father, mother, grandparent, child or grandchild, for such a union would involve

(1) This paragraph is largely quoted from Barnes, loc.cit.
(2) pp.47-8.
(3) M.S. = man speaking, W.S. = woman speaking.
(4) Childs, op.cit., p.51, note 3.

UMBUNDU KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

D. McCulloch E-4 (1964-65) 1966 FFL3 Schwab FF13

S. McCulloch B-4 (1940-41) 1988 FP18 Minerals FP18

EGOS 4 KIN GROUPS. 1.—— - Ohuse. M - Male side. F - female side.
2.— — - Ohuina. M - Male side. F - female side. 3 — — Mother's paternal kin. 4 ---- Father's maternal kin. (Male and female sides for 3 & 4 not shown.)

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2: McCulloch B-4 (1943-52) 1952 FP13 Mbundu FP13

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Continuing at the site the boy and girl cut and plant the first pole, which is to be a part of the new etumbo (spirit hut). The boy and girl must take part ceremonially in each operation of building the hut, and when it is built they ignite the new fire. A hen and a cock are killed, cooked on the new fire, and eaten inside the etumbo by all who have taken part in building it. The headman and his wife must remain on the new site to keep the fire alight; other villagers may commute from the old village or erect temporary grass shelters on the new site. Houses are built by the occupants themselves, although men may give each other mutual help, for which there is a gift of food and beer. The ombanje is usually built by the communal labour of all boys and men, and on its completion a simple ritual is performed to promote harmony within and to welcome the spirits, who are believed to sleep in the ombanje and to take part in all discussions within it.[1]

776 346 361 342 344 [476] [782]

The village group: composition

Childs describes the relationship of the villagers of Ngendo to each other as typical of Umbundu country. Most of the heads of households are related agnatically to their respective section-heads (who are presumably also related agnatically to each other, since the village is based on the *olusa* group); Childs does not however discuss the relation of section heads to each other or to the village headman. He gives a table in which the householders are divided into six categories according to their relationship to their various section-heads:

621 611

1.	Patrepal relatives of section head:	Section A (headman's)	21
		= B	2
		= C	3
			26
2.	Maternal relatives of section head:	Section B	4
		= C	2
			6
3.	Sisters' sons (or daughters')[2]	Section B	4
		C	1
			5
4.	Relatives by marriage	Section A	2
		B	1
			3
5.	Relationship not definitely known	Section B	1
6.	Former slaves	Section A	1
		B	1
			2

621 601

(1) This section is based on Childs, 1949, pp.27-9.
(2) The gender, of course, have been included as maternal relatives and patrepal relations, since they belong both to the *olusa* and to the *olotua*.

3: Hambly E-6 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbunda FP13

is pounded") and Cisenga ("a small bird with a long tail"). A boy may be Kangwe ("the little leopard"). 553 651

Names sometimes give an indication of descent. Nganga's full name is Nganga Kalei Liahuka, Nganga ("eagle"), Kalei ("one who works for the king"), Liahuka (the father's surname). Nganga's sister is Cinyafiala ("the old basket"). This was the name of her father's father's sister. As the father of Cinyafiala is Liahuka, the daughter is surnamed Yaliahuka (*ya*, "of"). The father chooses the names of the three first children whether boys or girls. The mother chooses the name of the fourth child whether male or female. If the child is a boy, the mother probably chooses the name of her brother or of her father's brother. When a first son is born, the father usually gives the name of his father; for example, Nganga's father's father was Nganga. If the first baby is a girl the father chooses the name of his sister. Ages are not known, but reckoning of age goes back five years by counting the number of times maize has been sown; maize is planted each October. The period from sowing to sowing is *silwa*.

If a man has a child by a woman who is not a wife or a concubine, the woman keeps the child for eight or ten years. The man must give the mother a cloth in which to carry her illegitimate baby, also oil for her hair. Sometimes the girl will go to the father of her child to be his concubine, but her parents will not let her do so if he has a bad reputation. To bear a child out of wedlock is a disgrace. 849

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

In preparing the following tables Nganga was the ego, or male speaker, and each term is given in relation to himself, with its reciprocal. The tables give firstly Nganga's own generation, then his ascendants, and finally some of his descendants. Tables E and F are diagrammatic forms of tables A–D. 601

TABLE A

(*See Table E III*)

NGANGA'S OWN GENERATION

Terms in italics are Umbundu names either for persons or for kindred classes. Reciprocals are placed in brackets; W.S. means, "woman speaking."

Uhai wange is my wife; *ukeka*, which means "spouse," is a modern form of address for husbands and wives when speaking to each other (*sepange*, my husband).

Keka or *kaka* is my elder brother (*mame wange* or *manje*, younger brother).

Keka or *kaxange* is my elder sister. An elder brother speaking to his sister calls her by name, or he uses the term *ukeka*. When speaking of her he says *makai wange* (*mame wange* or *manjange*, younger brother). The same terms are used in the same way to apply to my father's brother's son, and my

B. Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

601 father's brother's daughter. Similarly the terms *wanjo* or *kolo* are applied to my mother's sister's son. The former is used if this relative is younger than myself; the latter term is employed if the relative is older than myself. *Mukoi* is the term for my mother's sister's daughter (reciprocal, *wanjo*, *kolo*, or *kasa*, means mother's sister's son). *Wanjonge* is a general name for a mother's sister's child, male or female.

Upulowa describes my father's sister's son (*upulowa*, mother's brother's son). The word is also applied to my father's sister's daughter. Marriage with a father's sister's daughter is permissible, but it is not favored since the offspring of such a union may be stupid. *Upulowa* also designates my mother's brother's daughter, who, according to custom, is regarded as the most suitable spouse for me.

Cepua ounge. This term is applied to any child *of* my mother's brother and to any child *of* my father's sister (reciprocal, *cepua ounge*).

Nawa. The term is used as follows: for my elder brother's wife; (W.S.) my husband's younger brother; my younger brother's wife; (W.S.) my husband's elder brother; my elder sister's husband; my wife's younger brother; my younger sister's husband; my wife's elder brother; my father's brother's son's wife; (W.S.) my husband's father's brother's son; my father's brother's daughter's husband; my wife's father's brother's son; my father's sister's son's wife; (W.S.) my husband's mother's brother's son; my father's sister's daughter's husband; my wife's mother's brother's son; my mother's brother's son's wife; (W.S.) my husband's father's sister's son; my mother's brother's daughter's husband; my wife's father's sister's son; my mother's sister's son's wife; (W.S.) my husband's mother's sister's son., my mother's sister's daughter's husband, my wife's mother's sister's son.

This completes the terms of relationship for Ngonga's own generation.

TABLE B

(See Table E II and IV, also Table F II)

FIRST GENERATION OF NGONGA'S ASCENDANTS

Tate. The term is applied to my father; my father's brother; and my mother's sister's husband (the word *ovanange*, my child, is the Umbundu reciprocal for the English reciprocal terms, son, brother's son, wife's sister's son).

Mai. The word is applied to my uterine mother, my mother's sister, and my father's brother's wife (again the Umbundu *ovanange* is the reciprocal for the English reciprocals, son, sister's son, and [W.S.] husband's brother's son).

Apkai means my father's sister, and the term is said to designate a "female father." My mother's brother's wife is also *apkai* (the Umbundu reciprocal for either male or female is *ocimamba ounge*, which is the equivalent of the English reciprocals, brother's son and husband's sister's son).

Manu or (sanu is my mother's brother (reciprocal is *ocimamba ounge*, which means sister's son).

Cikulume. The term is applied to my father's sister's husband (the reciprocal, *ocimamba ounge*, means wife's brother's son).

This completes the first generation of Ngonga's ascendants.

TABLE C

(See Table E I and F I)

SECOND GENERATION OF NGONGA'S ASCENDANTS

Sekulu ounge. The term is applied to my father's father, and literally means my elder father (the reciprocal is *ocekulu ounge*, meaning son's son).

Sekulu. The word designates my mother's mother's brother, and my mother's mother's sister's husband (the reciprocal, *ocekulu*, means sister's daughter's son, and wife's sister's daughter's son).

S. Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

Kukulalu or *akulalu*. These terms are applicable to my father's father's brother, my father's father's brother's wife; my father's father's sister's husband; and my mother's father (the reciprocal *ovakulu* describes the reciprocals, brother's son's son; husband's brother's son's son; wife's brother's son's son; daughter's son). 601

Mukulu. This designation, which is derived from *wasi*, meaning mother, and *kulu*, an old person, is applied to my father's mother (reciprocal, *ovakulu ovapa*, son's son). *Mukulu* also means my father's father's sister; my mother's mother; my mother's mother's brother's wife; and my mother's mother's sister (the reciprocal is *ovakulu* which equals the English reciprocals brother's son's son; daughter's son; husband's daughter's child; and sister's daughter's child).

This completes the second generation of ascendants.

NOTE: Ngonga's wife uses the names *mukulu* and *kukulalu* for those relatives of her husband to whom Ngonga himself applies these terms. These relatives call Ngonga's wife *ovakulu*.

TABLE D

(*See Table E IV and V, also Table F II, IV and V*)

SONS OF NGONGA'S DESCENDANTS

Nanulu or *useli* is my first-born son. Other sons are *omolo*, meaning child. *Omolo alume* means a male child. *Omolo akasi* is a female child. *Useli* also means a first daughter (the reciprocal for these terms is *tate*, meaning father).

Owolonge means my child. I apply the word, not only to my own children, but to my elder brother's son (reciprocal, *tate*, father's younger brother); to my elder brother's daughter; and to my younger brother's son.

Ndolembo. The word is applied to my son's wife; my daughter's husband; my elder brother's son's wife; my elder brother's daughter's husband; and my younger brother's son's wife (the same word *ndolembo* is used for the reciprocals of these terms; namely, husband's father; wife's father; husband's father's younger brother; wife's father's younger brother; and husband's father's elder brother).

The foregoing classificatory system of relationship is not peculiar to the Ovimbundu, but is a cultural trait of many Bantu-speaking and some Sudanic-speaking Negroes. The similarity of the Umbundu system to those of surrounding peoples in Rhodesia and the Congo will be pointed out in chapters dealing with culture contacts. 601 171

When describing marriage rites reference was made to the fact that a wife goes to live near her husband's relatives; the system is therefore patrilocal. The limited family consists of husband and wife (or wives) with their children. The greatest number of wives observed in the family of a commoner was four, and in the family of a king eleven. A household sometimes contains adopted children, also domestic slaves (pawns) who are working to pay off debts for their maternal uncles. An extended family may include a grandfather and his wife, his sons, their wives and children, and his unmarried daughters, with classes and nomenclatures mentioned in the foregoing tables. 591 592 [595] [597] [567] 596

The phrase *epata lia tate* (or *alute*) means "family of my father" and includes all relatives on the father's side. The words *epata lia* 613

613 *wasi* (or *olusisa*) mean "family of my mother." These terms seem to indicate a bilateral rather than a unilateral lineage. Inquiry did not show that there were totems for the mother's or the father's people, or that marriage into any particular local group was com-
631 manded or enjoined. A village is a unit under the administration of a chief (*sekulu*) and as such is part of a large group of villages forming a kingdom ruled by a king (*seoasa*), but such village units are concerned with government and warfare, not with exogamy.

613 In tracing descent an Ocimbundu gives the names of relatives of
565 both the father and mother, but commoners are unlikely to know the names of their relatives beyond the grandparent class. The children of a king were at one time able to recite many generations
[582] of ancestors along both parental lines. But if the king had married a commoner, as he was allowed to do after choosing his first wife from the royal line, the children knew only the genealogy of their father. This is obvious since the commoner mother would not be likely to know her line of descent. The son of a village chief (*sekulu*) may marry a commoner, but, according to Ngonga, the *sekulu*, his father, "would have a very good look at her."

582 Ngonga had not heard of the marriage of brothers and sisters,
565 not even in the royal family; the idea of such a union was new and repulsive to him. In Umbundu society there would be no necessity for such a marriage as that of brother and sister or other close relative, because members of a royal family of one part of the country could intermarry with members of a royal family in some area far away. There might, for example, be marriages between the royal families of Bailundu and Ngalangi, which are two principal kingships of the Ovimbundu confederacy.

935 When asked what would be the fate of a man who committed
684 incest with his blood daughter or uterine sister, Ngonga said he would be killed by his brother or by his mother's brother. If he escaped he would have to go far away so that his people could never see him again. If a fine were accepted for incest, the culprit would have to pay his own kin "because he had shamed them."

601 Table A, Ngonga's Own Generation, calls attention to a plurality of terms for brother and sister according to the relative ages of the speaker and the person addressed. Moreover, there is a term for direct address and another which is used when speaking of a brother or sister.

Ngonga was questioned with regard to forms of address for his brothers and sisters other than the children of his uterine mother.

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FF13 Mbundu FF13

Ngonga actually has a brother by his father's first wife, and for this male he uses the same terms as for his uterine brothers. The same terms are used for uterine sisters and sisters begotten by his father through wives other than his uterine mother. Ngonga said, "If people ask you which sister or which brother you can explain it in words."

A wife of Ngonga's father, other than Ngonga's uterine mother, is called *mai yesepaloi;* that is, "the mother who is jealous of my mother." *Mai* means "mother," and the remainder of the term is a derivative from the word *esepa*, meaning "woman's jealousy." If two women *A* and *B* desire to marry the same man and only *A* is successful, *B* calls *A sepaloi*. Under similar circumstances a man would call his successful rival *oikuelume ooso*.

There is a distinct word for man's jealousy. In explaining this Ngonga said, "When I see my wife look at another man, I have *ukuelume* ["man's jealousy"] in my heart."

If on the death of Ngonga's father, his mother married again this male would be called by Ngonga *tate yesepaloi* ("the father who is jealous").

A wife calls the children of the family, who are not her own, *omala vesepaloi;* that is, "the children who are jealous of the other children." A mother-in-law taboo operates. Conversation between mother-in-law and son-in-law must always be carried on while the speakers stand back to back.

The foregoing note on a mother-in-law taboo has been supplemented by a letter from Dr. Merlin W. Ennis of Elende, Angola (August, 1931). "Mother-in-law and father-in-law taboos seem to be directed against seeing each other. The persons involved may not see each other. If they meet on the path, one steps aside and turns the back while the other passes on. The one passing by goes through the motions of seeing no one. If it is necessary to converse on some subject, they sit looking in different directions, or one sits out of doors and the other within, around the corner of the door. This holds equally for a man and his son's wife, and for a woman and her daughter's husband. A man may see and talk with his daughter's husband, and a woman may see and speak to her son's wife, but no son-in-law may eat with a father-in-law, likewise daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law may not eat together. Brothers-in-law may not eat together unless they have gone through a certain ceremony; this also holds for sisters-in-law."

601 Table A indicates a wide use of the word *nawa* for "in laws" of the speaker's generation. Thus Ngonga calls the wives and husbands of his brothers and sisters *nawa* without distinguishing them in any way. The term *nawa* has a still wider connotation for it includes Ngonga's father's brother's son's wife, and his father's sister's daughter's husband. Ngonga's wife said that she uses the word *nawa* for all the brothers and sisters of her husband, for all the children of her husband's father's brother, her husband's father's sister's children, her husband's mother's brother's children, and her husband's mother's sister's children. Reciprocally, all these people call Ngonga's wife *nawa*.

605 582 Table A introduces the question of cross-cousin marriage, which is the functional form among the Ovimbundu. My informant said that he calls his mother's sister's children brothers and sisters, therefore he could not marry the girls. Neither are his father's brother's daughters eligible for marriage with him. The table shows the truth of this, for Ngonga calls his father's brother's daughter *mukai*, meaning "sister"; she addresses him as *kota* or *kuse* ("brother"). Ngonga also addresses his father's brother's son by the term *manjange* ("younger brother") or *kasange* ("older brother") according to the relative ages of the speaker and the person addressed.

When Ngonga was asked whether he could marry a daughter of his mother's brother, he replied, "I could marry her very well indeed." A marriage of Ngonga with his father's sister's daughter would be permissible but Ngonga said the marriage is not regarded as a good one "because the children will be stupid." Ngonga could marry his mother's brother's daughter's daughter, or his mother's brother's son's daughter. It would also be permissible for Ngonga to marry his father's sister's daughter's daughter, or his father's sister's son's daughter.

604 601 Ngonga said, "My father's brother is my father, and my mother's sister is my mother." When questioned further my informant said that a marriage with daughters of these relatives would make him *ocisyama*, which means "an animal." Relatives would say, "You have shamed the family." It will be noted from Table B, First Generation of Ngonga's Ascendants, that Ngonga's father's brother calls him *omolenge*, meaning "my child," for which the reciprocal is *tate* ("father"). Ngonga's father's brother's wife is *mai* ("mother"), and she calls him *omolenge* ("my child"). Ngonga distinguishes between his mother's oldest sister (*mai yukulu*), and his mother's

youngest sister (*mai yamalale*). Ngonga's father's oldest brother is *tate yaikulu*.

Thus far Ngonga was clear about his eligibility for marriage, and in addition to this he was sure that he could not marry a sister of his wife while his wife was alive, but he could marry his wife's sister, after the death of his wife. The wives of a deceased elder brother are divided among his younger brothers, or a man may inherit the wife of his mother's brother. Ngonga always laughed heartily at the idea of marrying a woman much older than himself. He did not know whether he could marry certain older people of the *ndatembo* and *maikulu* class but thought the idea amusing because of their age.

In discussing law, inheritance, and slavery, the importance of the mother's brother will be indicated, and for this relative there is the term *mama* (or *isamu*). The *mama* calls Ngonga *ocimumba cange*, but he calls Ngonga's wife *ndatembo*. Ngonga's mother's brother's wife, also Ngonga's father's sister, are *ophai*, which my informant interpreted as a "female father."

The use of the word *nawa* has been explained in such a way as to show that Ngonga's wife uses this term for a large class of relatives by marriage who are of the same generation as her husband, while these people reciprocally use the word *nawa*. Ngonga uses the word *nawa* in exactly the same way for corresponding relatives of his wife.

This term *nawa* is not to be confused with the term *ndatembo* whose connotation is indicated by the following examples. The wife of Ngonga applies the term *ndatembo* to certain of her husband's relations who are not of his generation. Thus she calls Ngonga's mother *ndatembo* when speaking of her, but she addresses her mother-in-law as *mai* ("mother"), while *ndatembo* describes the relationship between Ngonga's wife and his father. Moreover, Ngonga's wife uses *ndatembo* to describe her husband's father's brother's wife, and Ngonga's wife is called *ndatembo* by her husband's father's sister, her husband's father's sister's husband, and her husband's mother's brother. These are relatives by marriage but they are not of the same generation as her husband.

Table C, Second Generation of Ngonga's Ascendants, gives no particular difficulty. *Maikulu* includes the paternal grandmother, the father's father's sister (great aunt), the maternal grandmother, the mother's mother's brother's wife, and the mother's mother's sister. Therefore *maikulu* is a class name for the second generation of female ascendants.

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TABLE E

MALE SPEAKER'S DIRECT LINE OF RELATIONSHIPS

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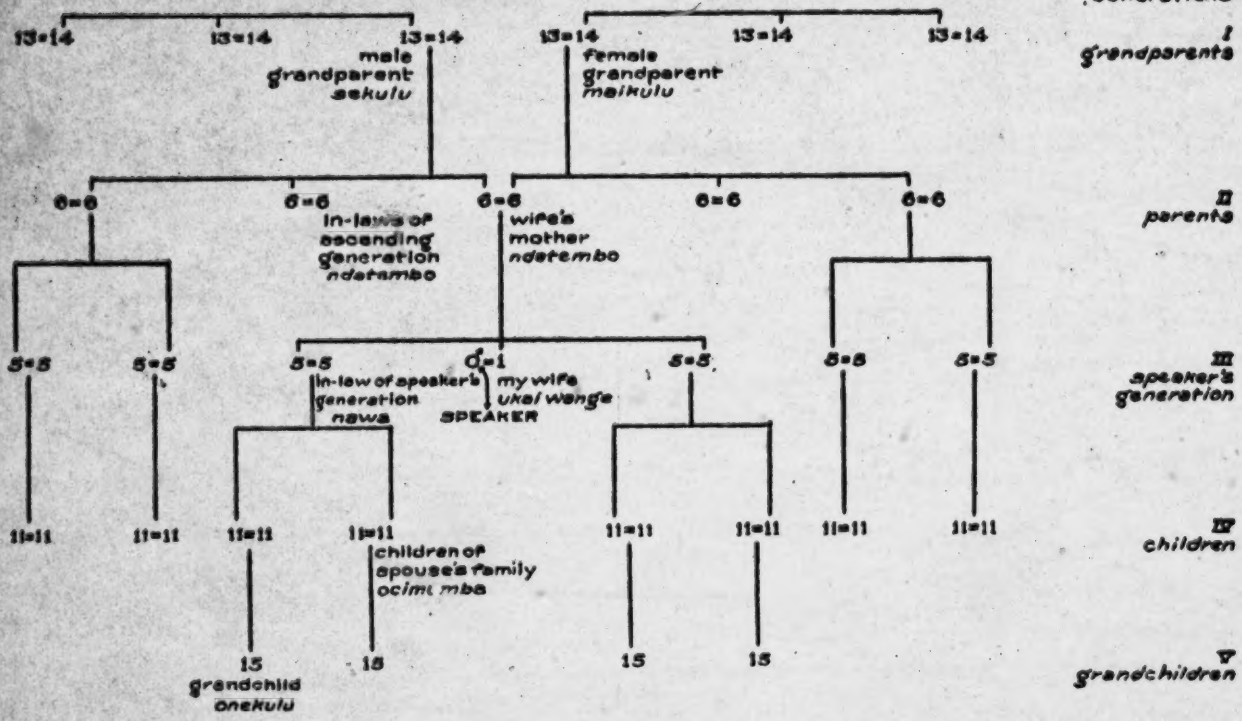
TABLE F

DIRECT LINE OF RELATIONSHIPS OF SPEAKER'S WIFE



3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

601 *Sekulu* includes the father's father, the mother's mother's brother, and the mother's mother's sister's husband. The terms *sekululu* and *kukululu* were used by Ngonga as being synonymous, and therefore they have the same connotation. With regard to the term *maikulu* Ngonga seemed clear, but in reply to questions concerning the reason for having the terms *kukululu* and *sekululu*, he was evidently confused. At last he said, "It does not matter, they are the same people." Ngonga never hesitated in giving the reciprocal for all these terms, which is in every instance *onekulu*. These terms may have been correlated with different functions which have now become obsolete.

604 601 The two most important collateral relatives in the parent's generation are the father's sister (*aphai*) and the mother's brother (*manu*). The term for father's sister means "female father." As such her relations to ego are similar to those of a father, consequently it is not considered right to marry her daughters. The mother's brother, on the other hand, is without doubt ego's most important relative. The two are linked by a series of reciprocal duties and obligations. Marriage of a mother's brother's daughter, or a mother's brother's widow, is a correct procedure. The value of the more important reciprocal duties is indicated in the following sections on law and government.

602 171 There was no possibility of devoting more time to the matter of relationship terms, but there is here sufficient to indicate the remarkable persistence of the kinship system in spite of three centuries of contact with the Portuguese and other Europeans. Moreover, the information gleaned by interrogation of Ngonga and his wife gives the main points for comparison with systems of a similar kind that have been given for Ashanti, Uganda, and Rhodesia, by Rattray, Roscoe, and Smith and Dale respectively. These kinship systems are the same both in general principles and in considerable detail.

601 The foregoing notes and tables were studied by Mr. Zachary Taylor of the University of Chicago, who prepared Tables E and F. Mr. F. Eggan offered useful criticisms. The Arabic numerals on these charts refer to the numbers used to designate terms of [115] relationship on the list on page 199. The ego or speaker is Ngonga, my interpreter, whose direct line of relationships is shown in Table E, while Table F indicates the terms used by Ngonga for his wife's relatives. The levels numbered in Roman numerals on Tables E and F indicate the generation stratification as follows:

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

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I. Grandparents.
II. Parents.
III. Speaker's generation.
IV. Children.
V. Grandchildren.

Numbers on the left of the sign (=) refer to males, those on the right, to females.

The terms of relationship used in Tables E and F are as follows:

1. *Ukai wange.* My wife (vocative). Ngonga's wife calls him *seyange*, my husband.
2. *Mume, manja, manjange.* Younger brother.
3. *Kota, kuca.* Older brother.
4. *Mbuala.* Sister (vocative). *Mukai wange.* Sister (nonvocative).
5. *Nawa.* In-laws of speaker's generation.
6. *Ndaiembo.* In-laws of ascending or descending generation.
7. *Tate.* Father.
8. *Mai.* Mother.
9. *Aphai.* Father's sister (female father).
10. *Omolange.* Child, used for speaker's family only.
11. *Ocisumbo.* Children of spouse's family.
12. *Mawu, isanu.* Mother's brother (direct ascendant).
13. *Kulu.* An old person in grandparent's and grandchild's generation.
    Sekulu, kukululu. Male grandparents.
14. *Mukulu.* Female grandparents.
15. *Onekulu.* Grandchild of either sex.
16. *Upalume.* Mother's brother's or father's sister's children.
17. *Cikulume.* Father's sister's husband.

NOTE: Age distinctions are made chiefly in the speaker's own generation.

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

In dealing with marriage rites it was stated that a woman had to contribute certain articles to the home; these are the utensils that she uses in her daily work. The baskets, pottery, pounders, and brushes may seem insignificant, but nevertheless there are rules regulating their disposal at death. Her husband will retain some of the articles; the remainder will be shared among the deceased woman's sisters. 428 422

The disposal of a widow is a matter for discussion among the relatives. The husband makes no bequest to his widow and children, though the children may receive a small gift of a pig or some corn. The property of a man is bequeathed to his mother's brother or to his sister's sons. The eldest brother of the deceased or the maternal uncle of the widow takes her to his house along with her children. If her father is alive he may take her. Ngonga says that each responsible relative says, "It is better that you should take her"; at last some one says, "I will take her." 768

When explaining the system of inheritance Ngonga was clear on two points. In the first place wives and children of the deceased are 428

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E. Torday's paper, "Dualism in Western Bantu Religion and Social Organization," is an admirable summary of a wide background of Bantu beliefs with which those of the Ovimbundu agree in detail. Torday (VI) has also given a summary of Bantu sexual relations. His summary of prenuptial relationships of boys and girls, the system of polygyny, and domestic arrangements in general, indicates that records made among the Ovimbundu are but a sample of an extensive and homogeneous series of Bantu sex customs. 171

With regard to the classificatory system of relationships and cross-cousin marriage, sufficient quotations have been given to indicate that the system of the Ovimbundu is one which is paralleled in Rhodesia, the Congo basin, and still more remote regions. To the instances given should be added corroborative examples from J. Roscoe (The Baganda, p. 109), R. S. Rattray (Ashanti, p. 29), and H. A. Stayt (The Bavenda, pp. 172–184). L. H. Buxton and R. S. Rattray have offered a theory to explain the kinship system and cross-cousin marriage in Ashanti (*Jour. African Soc.*, XXIV, p. 83; Religion and Art in Ashanti, p. 318). 171 601

In Africa a classificatory system of relationships is particularly characteristic of the Bantu area. The system is Semitic and Hamitic. It is not reported among the Bushmen, but is in vogue among the Nama Hottentots. The wide distribution of a classificatory system, with variations, and its importance in tribal life, suggest antiquity (see Hoernlé, II, and B. Z. Seligman, III).

H. Baumann (I) has prepared maps showing the distribution of customs affecting descent of property in Africa. Investigation among the Ovimbundu proves that their scheme of inheritance of property is part of a more widely distributed system. Baumann (pp. 66, 127) states that in the Kasai valley and the Cabinda Enclave the rights of the mother's brother are expressed in his control of his sister's children. The power of the maternal uncle in Ovimbundu families was reported, and it was stated that he has the right to sell his sister's children for redemption of his debts. Baumann's map further indicates an area in which property descends, not to a wife or children, but to a mother's brother, or to the sons of the deceased man's oldest sister. The social system of the Ovimbundu is definitely a part of this cultural matrix, which extends to the north and northeast of the Ovimbundu but, according to Baumann's record, not to the south of Angola. In the south of Angola among pastoral people a system of succession and inheritance in the male line prevails, and 171 428

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groups emerged. The information on the cult of the matrilineal spirits which might have thrown some light on matrilineal conflicts and integration, is confused. Both Hastings and Mrs. Tucker state that the matrilineal spirits are always malevolent, but this is not confirmed by my informants,[83] and it may be that they were referring to the traditional belief that sorcery was only practised between members of a matrilineal group. Although, as has been stated, a man looked to his matrilineal kin for economic aid, he might travel with his father (who had first claim on his services), or with his mother's brother or some other kinsman; indeed while his father was still alive he might travel and trade on his own account.[84] The matrilineal group (in this area at least) was not a unit from which trading teams were formed, but rather a means for providing financial assistance when needed for those engaged in trading. It is of course possible that in some areas of Umbundu country the matrilineal kin groups were significant in the organization of trading caravans.

Another institution whose form can be described but whose function cannot be properly known is that of preferential marriage with certain categories of kin. Childs states that the categories were cross-cousins (both patrilateral and matrilateral), the sister's daughter, and the father's sister, and indicates that the cross-cousin marriages were not generally with first-cousins. My informants generally denied that it had been permitted to marry a father's sister, but confirmed his other statements. They added that an indemnification was paid by the bridegroom to the bride's family 'to cut the blood',[85] and that the kinship terms were replaced by affinal. This suggests that these marriages may have been intended to restore distant kinship ties by turning them into affinal ties and so renewing them for the next generation, but how this would operate cannot even be guessed.

[83] Hastings, p. 87; L. S. Tucker, 'The Divining Basket of the Ovimbundu', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1930, pp. 171–201.

[84] Information.

[85] This was paid down to 1949 or so in the area where I was. It was about 20 escudos, much less than bridewealth. It was formerly refused to by the Umbundu were for 'face' (*soluka*), as was the payment made on the death of a non-kinswoman wife.

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CHAPTER IV

THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF VILLAGES

1. *The Village Epalanga*

In this chapter the internal social relations of the village and the relevance to them of the headman will be examined.

Epalanga, which has been mentioned as associated with Sapapula, the Epalanga of the former chief Kafelo, was a village of 148 inhabitants living in 36 households. Its houses stretched from near the River Keve (or Cuvo) to near the track leading to Chicunda, a distance of between half and two-thirds of a mile. Its layout is of the untidy scattered sort typical of most Umbundu villages, indeed its size leads it to be more scattered and spread out than is usual. Houses are surrounded by their own gardens in which maize and other crops are grown, and there are a number of stretches of bush in between homesteads.

Four main sources of origin (as regards kinship ties not as regards localities) for Epalanga may be noted. The largest 'kinship core'[1] was composed of Sapapula and his kin numbering 16 households. The second largest was that of the kin of Mwehombo (who was a matrilateral 'brother'[2] of Sapapula) and Mbati the former chief of Gumba and mother's brother

[1] This term seems more satisfactory than 'cluster' which has a local meaning, or 'group' which suggests an unilineal descent group. It is not intended to give a term indicating a unit with defined boundaries. Childs notes that *imbo* (village) can also be used as a word for a cluster of houses within a village. He also gives the word *ochimbo* for a ward within a village. This word was not known locally.

[2] I have employed inverted commas to indicate classificatory use of terms which for European refer to the members of the elementary family, e.g. matrilateral 'brother'. I have not done so where the classificatory use relates to a term not associated with the elementary family, e.g. mother's brother. In ordinary social life there is no great distinction between a 'true' and a 'classificatory' mother's brother.

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[Village of Epalanga]

602 'close' kin may not be able to indicate the set of genealogical[5] links between them and will not be at all surprised or even interested by this; hence it is impossible to draw up a genealogy of Epalanga. I have attempted to show the very complicated 128 network of relationships by a series of charts—one big chart would have so many cross-cutting lines as to be largely unintelligible.

Three charts are given to illustrate particular sections of the mesh of kin and affinal ties. They are not intended as exhaustive records of the relationship of any one kinship core or of any single individual. Rather, they are intended to give a general impression of how the proliferation of the strands of kinship [621] and marriage brings about a complicated and formless patchwork in which everybody is included.

2. *Information on Household Heads*

601 List I. Residents of Epalanga as of December 1956. Female 621 household heads are indicated by a star against their names. The numbers are used on the map of the village (see p. 50).

Sapapula's Kinship Core

1. Aspirante, sister's son of Sapapula, son-in-law of Wayangu.
2. *Avilo, sister's daughter of Sapapula, 'sister' to Tjingonene (31).
3. Batista, son of Epalata (5) and husband of a sister of Kasosi (7).
4. Bernacio, son-in-law of Sapapula, 'son' to Kasosi (7).
5. Epalata, matrilateral cross-cousin of Sapapula.
6. Ernesto, sister's son of Sapapula, full brother of Aspirante (1) married to a daughter's daughter of Sasamela (see List II).
7. Kasosi, 'grandson' of Sapapula through being sister's son[6] to Wasuka (15). A 'son' to Guilherme and 'father' to Bernacio (4).

[5] Ovimbundu even traditionally seem to have been little interested in genealogies. (Information from Dr. G. M. Childs.)

[6] According to Umbundu kinship terminology, Wasuka being a matrilateral cross-cousin of Sapapula could call him 'father' and Kasosi could call his mother's brother's (Wasuka) father 'grandfather'.

2 [cf. charts on pp. 91, 96, 97, in Category 116-Analyst]

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[Village of Epalanga]

8. *Natjingendele, cross-cousin of Sapapula, had formerly lived at the other end of Epalanga near her 'brother' Ndjoleya (30). 601 621
9. Patientia, 'brother' of Sapapula's wife Nahoka.
10. Sapapula, sister's son of Mbati, 'brother' of Luanga (21) and Mwehombo, not related to Ndjoleya (30) or Lusase.
11. Saviel, sister's son of Sapapula married to Soko, a daughter of Mwehombo. By an earlier marriage he had become affinally related to Tjingonene (31).
12. *Sendje, mother of Nahoka, Sapapula's wife.
13. Tjamwanga, matrilateral cross-cousin of Sapapula and paternal half-brother of Epalata (5).
14. Tjimbandongo, son of Epalata (5) and therefore a classificatory 'grandson' of Sapapula.
15. Wasuka, matrilateral cross-cousin of Sapapula, and 'brother' of Epalata (5).
16. *Wimbu, a widow, sister's daughter of Sapapula, her husband had been a mother's brother of Luanga (21).

The Mbati-Mwehombo kinship core

17. Armandio, sister's son of Mwehombo (and of Sapapula).
18. Gonçalve, own son of Mwehombo (therefore 'son' of Sapapula).
19. Jaime, son of Mbati—cross-cousin of Mwehombo, formerly married to Soko (daughter of Mwehombo) who was now the wife of Saviel (11), later married to Delfina, a brother's daughter of Ndjoleya.
20. Joaõ, cross-cousin of Sapapula. He tended, however, to be associated with the Mbati-Mwehombo kinship core, owing to his marriage to Paulina, daughter of Mwehombo, and full sister of Gonçalve (18).
21. Luanga, matrilateral 'brother' to Mwehombo (and also to Sapapula) patrilateral 'brother' to Ndjoleya. Luanga's wife Muhongo was a 'sister' of Maria, the wife of Paulo (24).
22. Manuel, sister's son of Mwehombo, his first wife had been a sister (not known if real or classificatory) of Maria, Paulo's wife (24).

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[Village of Epalanga]

601 23. *Nahenge, cross-cousin of Sapapula, and sister of Joaõ (20).
621 24. Paulo, 'elder of the catechetical school', sister's son of Mwehombo (and of Sapapula). His wife Maria was a daughter of Mbati.

Ndjoleya's kinship core

25. Augusto, sister's son to Ndjoleya, his wife Luisa was a daughter (by an earlier marriage) of Nalivonga, daughter of Sapapula and wife of Bernacio (4).
26. Costa, 'brother' of Ndjoleya (30), and husband of Nakalende, a cross-cousin of Paulo (24).
27. Cypriano, sister's son of Ndjoleya (30).
28. Ferreira, 'brother' of Ndjoleya (30).
29. Julio, sister's son of Ndjoleya and full brother of Augusto (25).
30. Ndjoleya, one of his wives was a sister (not known whether real or classificatory) of Bernacio, another a full sister of one of Mwehombo's wives.
31. *Tjingonene, 'sister' of Ndjoleya, by another path 'sister' of Avilo. Her daughter Feliciana was a cross-cousin of Nahoka, the wife of Sapapula, and had married Daniel, a sister's son of Lusase.

Persons with kin links to Lusase

32. Bartolomeu, sister's son of Lusase and also of Sapapula, 'son' of Wasuka (15), cross-cousin of Ndjoleya and also of Paulo (24).
33. *Nalundu, matrilateral 'sister' of Bartolomeu.

Other residents

34. *Nasemela, widow of Sasamela. (See List II).
35. Pedro Tjikete Santos, catechist.
36. *Tjambo, 'sister' of Bartolomeu (32), not included with him in the group linked to Lusase, since although she had formerly lived near his house, she moved to be near Tjimbandongo (14), whose 'mother' she was.

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List II.. Persons not living in Epalanga at the end of 1956, but significamt for intra-village ties. 601

Angelo, son of Sasamela (q.v.) and therefore mother's brother to Teresa (wife of Ernesto (6) and daughter's daughter to Sasamela), had married Njamba, daughter (by another marriage) of Nakalende the wife of Costa (26).

Antonio Kasoma, patrilaterally a 'grandson' of Mbati had married three wives, one a daughter of Tjingonene (31), one a daughter of Sapapula, and one a sister's daughter of Guilherme. A 'brother' of his (not known if real or classificatory) had been an earlier husband of Nakalende, the wife of Costa (26). Kapapelo was a matrilateral cross-cousin of his.

Guilherme, sister's son of Kapapelo and Lusase, 'brother' to Bartolomeu (32) 'son' to Wazuka (15), 'father' to Kasosi (7) and 'grandson' to Sahuke.

Jeremias, Protestant catechist of Simbwyikoka village, wife's brother to Gonçalve (18), former husband of Natalia the sister of Aspirante (1) and Ernesto (6).

Kapapelo, 'brother' of Lusase, mother's brother of Bartolomeu (32) and Guilherme, patrilateral cross-cousin of Luanga (21), and matrilateral cross-cousin of Antonio Kasoma. Formerly married to the mother of Pungu, the fiancée of José the son of Paulo (24).

Lusase, chief of Gumba, 1934–1956, 'brother' to Kapapelo and Sahuke, mother's brother to Bartolomeu (32) and Guilherme. Another sister's son, Daniel of Kamupa, had married Feliciana, the daughter of Tjingonene (31), and cross-cousin of Nahoka the wife of Sapapula.

Pedro Nendi, son of Mbati and half-brother of Maria, wife of Paulo (24) and Jaime (19). His mother Wumba had after Mbati's death married Sahuke. Pedro Nendi lived in a hamlet just outside Epalanga. In it also lived his sister's son Cesario who was married to Natalia, a full sister of Aspirante (1) and Ernesto (6), and former wife of Jeremias (q.v.).

Sahuke, matrilateral 'brother' of Sapapula, and cross-cousin of Epalata (5). As noted he was a 'brother' of Lusase and a step-father to Pedro Nendi, also a 'brother' of Sasamela, a sister's son of Mbati and a mother's brother of Bartolomeu (32).

Sasamela, father of Angelo and grandfather of Teresa, the

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wife of Ernesto (6). Patrilateral 'father' to Paula (24) and Saviel (11). Affinally related to Mwehombo, a 'sister' of whom he had married.

Wayangu, paternal half-brother of Mwehombo, resident at Epalanga till the end of 1955, wife's father to Aspirante (1) had married a sister (not clear whether own or classificatory) of Lusase.

3. *Kinship and marriage in the village setting*

The foregoing tabulated information and the charts indicate the two main principles of integration in Epalanga, as in other Umbundu villages, the settling of individuals near senior kinsmen and the existence of a number of intra-village marriage ties.

For a clearer outline of village structure to appear, it is necessary to give a brief sketch of the contemporary kinship system which will be discussed more thoroughly in later chapters. This is cognatic, with little distinction between patrilineal and matrilineal kin, the elementary family being the basic household unit, the individual being permitted to settle with any category of kin, and a high percentage of preferential marriages.[1]

The right of settling where one pleases, as 'the heart chooses', is recognized even in children. Minessi, the 7-year-old son of Gonçalve (18), used generally to eat at the household of his father's sister Paulina, the wife of Joaõ (20). Gonçalve said about this to me 'He is very fond of his father's sister.'

While the traditional norm by which a man lived in his father's village is still remembered, at least by older men, a

[1] Childs (p. 56) states that it is permitted to marry a cross-cousin on either side, a sister's daughter, and a father's sister. My informants generally agreed that the marriage with a father's sister was not and had not been permitted. Marriage is not permitted with 'true' kin of these categories. Padre Feltin, the superior of the Bimbe Catholic Mission who knew of the existence of these marriages, told me that very few Umbundu marriages came within the prohibited (a prohibition removable by a dispensation) degrees of kinship laid down by the Catholic Church (that is, up to, and including, third cousins). Such marriages in the past might have been with geographically as well as socially distant kin. Childs quotes a case of a marriage arranged, after the discovery of a kinship tie, between partners living as far apart as Ciyaka (Quiaca) and Ngalangi (Galangue).

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father does not exercise great authority over his grown sons even if they live in the same village, nor does their living in different villages lead to a breach in personal relations. Sapapula who told me that a man should stay in his father's village till the latter's death had four sons, none of whom lived in Epalanga. Two lived in Menga (where Sapapula had lived up to 1946) and maintained friendly contact with their father. One who lived in Cela seemed socially as well as geographically more remote, and the fourth was a labour migrant given up for lost.

The preferential marriages[8] have continued in practice when most of the other institutions of the old kinship system have disintegrated. Their function is to multiply the relationships between individuals living in a particular neighbourhood, and to limit the socio-geographical range within which marriage partners are selected. Of a sample of 121 existing marriages 87, that is 70.3%, were with cross-cousins, and only 13.7% were with non-kinswomen.[9]

Even some of the non-kin marriages fitted into the general pattern of increasing ties within a limited social field. Thus in Epalanga Jaime (19) had married Delfina, a brother's daughter to Ndjoleya. They were not kinsfolk yet this fitted in with the pattern of kin marriages in increasing links between different kinship cores in the village. Similarly Costa (26) and his wife Nakalende were not agreed (when questioned separately) as to whether they were kinsfolk, but this is not really significant since

[8] I had been inclined to interpret these marriages as functions of the relations between kin groups. Dr. Mary Douglas has suggested to me that these marriages were in the past not related to any system of kin groups but had, as at the present day, the function of multiplying the kinship ties within a limited field. I do not know of any clear evidence which could at this time settle the point.

[9] I count here as kin marriages those between *sakusanjisaka*, funeral friends, who though not kinsfolk tend to be assimilated to cross-cousins in social usage. 'Cross-cousin' tends to be at the present time a blanket category, and I have repeatedly found asking men about their wife's kinship status that they would first give some other term and then change to 'cross-cousin'. [Epalunie]. This explains why under present conditions the percentage of cross-cousin marriages in relation to the total number of marriages seems to be rising. Thus in 56 marriages (existing or terminated) contracted by 23 men who had taken part in the caravan trade, while the percentage of marriages with non-kinswomen was slightly smaller (12.5) the figure of marriages with cross-cousins was very much smaller (42.9) and the figure of marriages with kin other than cross-cousins, sister's daughters, and *sakusanjisaka* was much higher (25 %) compared to the contemporary figure of 5%.

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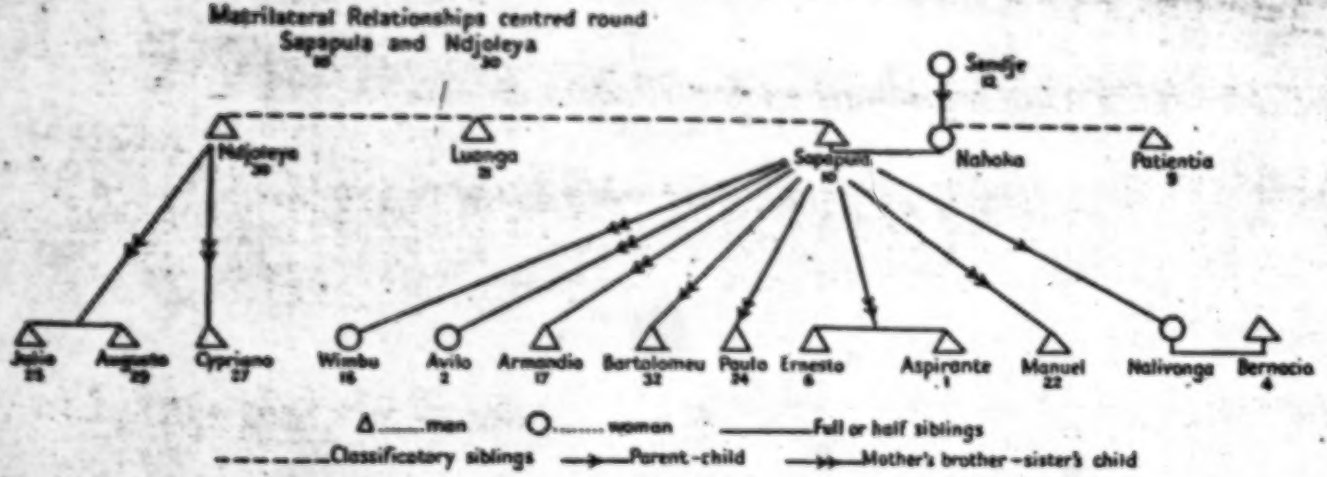

CHART 1. This shows the relationships centred round Sapapula (10) and Ndjoleya (30), the leading personalities of the village. Although they were not directly related there was a link through Luanga (21), who was matrilaterally a 'brother' of Sapapula, and patrilaterally of Ndjoleya. All are living members of the village.

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social unit. 'All descendants of the same great-great-grandmother speak of themselves as a group (matrilineally descended), by the term *Imolietu*, i.e. "children from a common source".'[9] Dr. Hastings did not apply the concept of double-descent to this society but regarded it as being matrilineal with patrilineal trimmings. After noting the patrilineal succession to the chiefdom, virilocal residence after marriage, and social preference for patrilineal kinsman, Dr. Hastings states: 'Apart from these apparent indications which might mislead one into concluding that the Ovimbundu are patronymic [*sic*], every other behaviour is obviously linked up as far as social attitudes and relations of the living are concerned within the matrilineal sib.'[10]

The neat tabulation by Dr. Childs[11] of the functions of the two kin groups, when considered in conjunction with the passages cited from Hastings, seems to provide quite clear proof that it is correct to apply the category 'double-descent kinship system' to that formerly prevailing among the Ovimbundu.

2. *Kinship Terms*

Tate *So* *Iso*	my father your father his father	Extended to all brothers, real or classificatory, of a father, all men married to a 'mother', and to the father's sister's son, particularly if he has been your father's heir.
Mai *Nyoho* *Ina*	my mother your mother his mother	Extended to all sisters, real or classificatory, of a mother, and to all wives of any 'father'.
Sekulu	mother's brother	Extended to any brother, real or classificatory, of a mother, and to the husband of any *apahai*.
Apahai[12] *Sohai*	my father's sister, his father's sister, your father's sister	Extended to any sister of any father and the wife of any *sekulu*.

[9] Ibid., p. 83. *Imolietu* [illegible]y means 'our womb'.
[10] Ibid., p. 87.
[11] Childs, pp. 45–46.
[12] *Tatekai* (father-woman), used in other parts of Umbundu country for 'my father's sister', is not found in Gumbu.

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601 The reciprocal of *tate* and *mai* is *omola* (child), usually with the possessive pronoun. *Nungulu* is used for the first-born son, and *kwasula* for the youngest. The reciprocal of both *sekulu* and *apahai* is *otjimumba*. Elder sibling is *huva*, younger sibling is *mandja*, both used with the possessive pronouns. *Kota* seems to have meant formerly the eldest sibling but it is now equivalent to *huva*. *Mukai* is sister, man speaking, and *mume* is brother, woman speaking.

Epalume, pl. *apalume*, cross-cousin
K'oluse patrilateral cross-cousin
K'oluina matrilateral cross-cousin

Makulu[13] is used for 'grandfather' and very often for grandmother, though for the latter there is a separate term, *inakulu*; the reciprocal is *onekulu*.

Nawa brother-in-law, sister-in-law. Extended to all siblings, real or classificatory, of a wife, the husband of any female sibling, and the siblings of such a husband.

Ndatembo father-in-law, mother-in-law; son-in-law, daughter-in-law.
Ndatembo is used only in reference; to address these affines one uses *tate* and *mai*.

Tjikwelume[14] sister's daughter's husband, sometimes father's sister's husband. The wife's mother's brother may be regarded as a mother's brother or as a *ndatembo*.

[602] *Tjisoko* (funeral friend) is used as a kinship term both in address and reference. This is an abbreviation of the more correct *ukwatjisoko*, of which the plural is *vakwatjisoko*.

The term for wife is *ukai* (woman) or *ufeko* (girl), the latter being perhaps more frequent. *Vey'yange* (my husband) is used as a term of reference by a woman rather than *ulume* (man, husband). Husband and wife would address each other by name or '*a ukuetu*' (O friend). If an individual is both an affine and a kinsman the affinal ties take precedence.

[13] Elsewhere *Sekulu* is used for 'grandfather'.
[14] Albino Alves, Vol. I, p. 448, gives *Tjikwelume* as sister's son.

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Osanto or *osiala* (namesake) is used as a kinship term, both in address and as reference.

Oluse and *oluina*, which were formerly the words for the agnatic and matrilineal kin group, now mean the patrikin, that is, all to whom one is paternally related, and the matrikin, all to whom one is matrilaterally related. A man, describing a particular tie, may say that it is 'in the matrikin of my father', that is, the relative is a matrilineal kinsman of his father. The terms *onele yohondji* ('the side of the bow') and *onele yohumba* ('the side of the basket') are equivalents of *oluse* and *oluina*.[18] The term *epata* may be used in a general sense for kin but it has very often a primary reference to the matrikin. *Familia* (from the Portuguese) means kin in general but it may mean 'kinsman' with reference to a single individual: 'So-and-so is (or is not) my *Familia*.' *Ngandi* (which also means 'So-and-so,' equivalent to the Portuguese *fulano*) means kinsman and *usitwe* is kinship.

The use of Portuguese terms is now frequent even among those who do not speak Portuguese. The terms most frequently taken into the Umbundu language are *mano* which is used to mean 'elder brother,' and *mana* which is used to mean 'elder sister,' both terms being used by either sex, *primo* (feminine *prima*), cousin, which is used as an equivalent of *epalume* (cross-cousin), *tio* (uncle), which is now used more frequently than *sekulu*, and *cunhado* (feminine *cunhada*) brother-in-law or sister-in-law, used in the same way as is *nawa*. Ovimbundu villagers talking Portuguese will apply the Portuguese terms in Umbundu style. Thus *irmaõ* (brother) will be used as an equivalent of *mandja* (younger sibling of either sex), and *irmaõ mais velho* (older brother) will be used as an equivalent of *huwa* (elder sibling of either sex). Similarly *tia* (aunt) will be used as an equivalent of *apahai*.

The rules about which term may be used in a particular defined relationship (e.g. my wife's mother's brother) are not clearly and exclusively defined. What is more surprising is that a man may not be certain what is the category in which he should class a kinsman with whom he has frequent contacts. Thus Paulo, the elder of the school at Epalanga, often played

[18] As noted previously in the references to Chapter I these terms do not seem to have referred to descent groups.

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with Adolfo, the small son of Jaime, his wife's brother, but when asked what relation Adolfo was to him, became confused and said, 'My son, my sister's son.'

There exist marked variations in terminology in Umbundu country.[16] For instance, *sekulu* seems to be used for mother's brother only in north-western Umbundu country. Elsewhere *manu*[17] is used for mother's brother, and *sekulu* is used for grandfather. At Caconda, where there has been strong Portuguese influence since the eighteenth century, only the Portuguese kinship terms are known.[18]

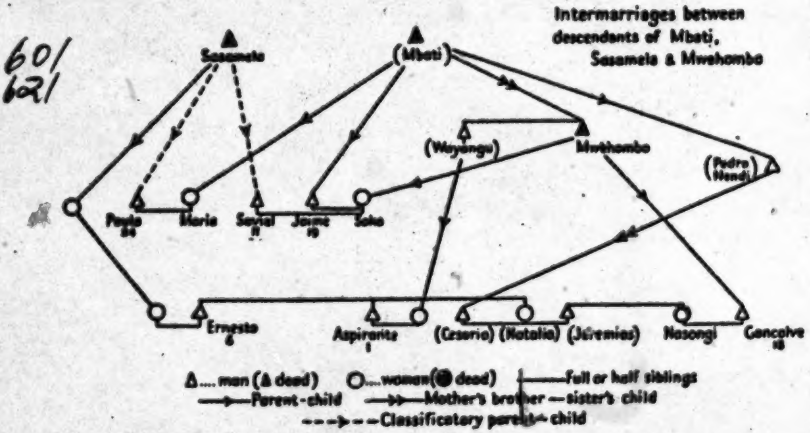

CHART 2. Mbati, Mwehombo and some of their kin. For Mbati (dead, non-member) and Mwehombo (dead, former member) see Chapter III, section 1. For Sasamela (dead, former member) and Cesario, Jeremias, Natalia, Pedro Nendi, and Wayangu (all living non-members) see List II (pp. 55–6). The rest of the individuals named on the chart are members of Epalanga. Paulo and Saviel were 'brothers', both patrilaterally and matrilaterally.

3. *Kinship Norms*

In this section I shall describe the relations that existed within the elementary family in the time of the rubber trade. A man

[16] For other lists of kinship terms see Hastings, pp. 83–83. Childs, pp. 47–56. M. Howse, *Umbundu Lessons* (Dondi, 1955), Vol. II, pp. 195–7.
[17] Etymologically, *manu* seems to mean 'mother-person'.
[18] Private information.

[Text continues on p. 98]

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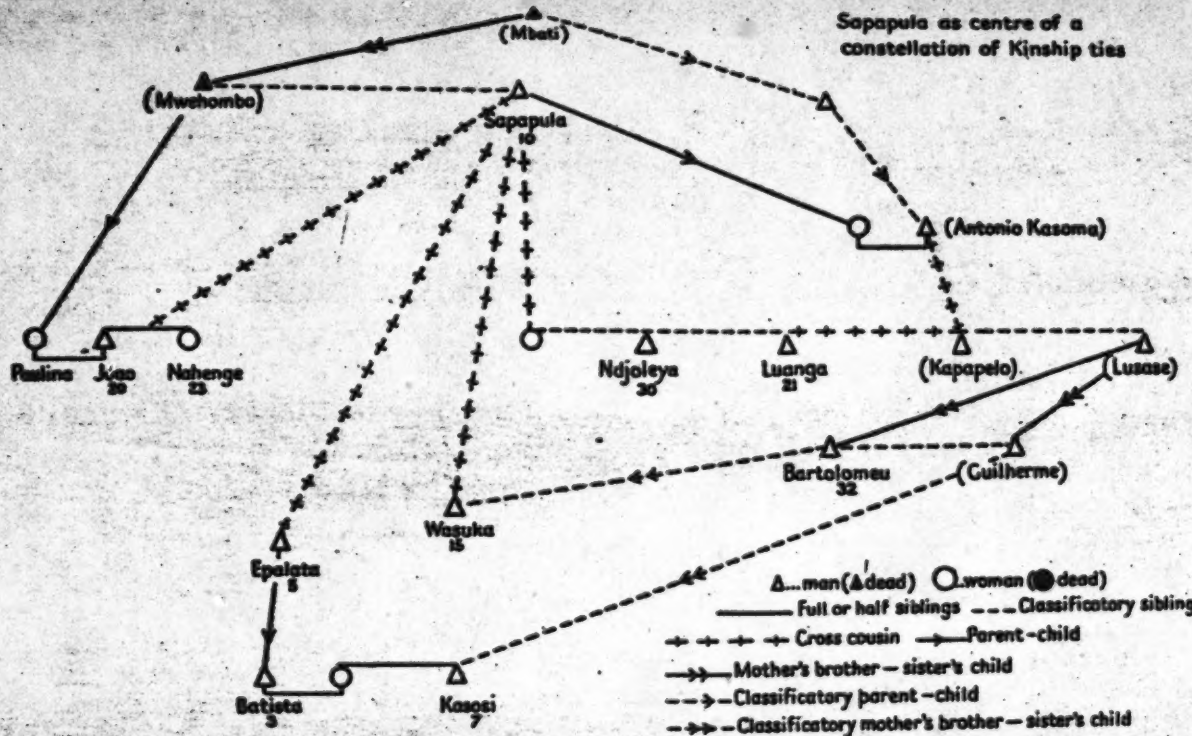

CHART 3. Sapapula as the centre of a constellation of kinship ties. It is interesting to note how, in view of the conflict described in Chapter IX, Sapapula is linked to Guilherme, Kapapelo, and Lusase by several paths. All are living members of Epalanga except for Mbati and Mwehombo (for whom see note to Chart 2) and Antonio Kasoma, Guilherme, Kapapelo, and Lusase. For details on these living non-members see List II, pp. 55–6. Not all ties existing between these individuals have been shown.

Correction. The relation of Bartolomeu and Guilherme to Lusase and of Mwehombo to Mbati should be that of classificatory sister's sons.